

Verbs of thought and speech
Pragmaticalization paths across languages

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French *imaginer* and Spanish *imaginar*
Similarities and differences in their pragmatic development

Stefan Schneider (Graz)

<http://www.stefan-schneider.at>

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1. Introduction

- French *imaginer*, Spanish *imaginar*
- Comparative analysis
- Focus on a specific aspect: verb → deverbial discourse marker
- Grammaticalization/pragmaticalization
- Preliminary researches in Schneider (2018, 2020a, 2020b)

1. Introduction

- Diachronic French and Spanish corpora:
 - *Base textuelle Frantext (Frantext)*
 - *Corpus del Nuevo diccionario histórico del español (CDH)*
- Individually analyzed texts

1. Introduction

- Research questions:
 - 1. Examine the evolution of French *imaginer* and Spanish *imaginar*
 - 2. Examine the emergence of deverbial discourse markers based on these verbs
 - 3. Identify similarities and differences

1. Introduction

- (1) hacía proselitismo entre los gitanos, siempre con prisa, *me imagino*, diciendo algo así como (1984, Alejandro Gándara, *La media distancia*, CDH)
- (2) c'est un peu comme les retraités dans un monastère que font les croyants, histoire, *j'imagine*, de se purifier. (1999, Jean-Bertrand Pontalis, *L'enfant des limbes*, Frantext)

2. 'Form a picture' meaning

- Medieval borrowings from Latin *imaginari* and/or *imaginare* (Corominas & Pascual 1980; *DEAF*; *FEW*)
- First appearance in the 13th century
- Initially semantically related to the corresponding nouns French *image* and Spanish *imagen*
- Prevailing meaning is 'form a picture'

2. 'Form a picture' meaning

- (3) como si alguno *imaginasse* cuerpo de omne (1275, Alfonso X, *General Estoria. Primera parte, CDH*)
 - (4) avoit cellui sur son heaume *ymaginé* le Dieu d'Amors (1400, Anonyme, *Ysaÿe le Triste, Frantext*)
- The picture can mental (3) or, more rarely, physical (4)
 - The physical meaning is abandoned in the following centuries

3. 'Suppose' meaning

- 14th century: appearance of cognitive meanings that background or even delete the picture aspect
- Metonymic shift:
 - Contents of mental picture in the background
 - Origin, constitution or reality of mental picture in the foreground
- Considerable variation
- 'Bear in mind', 'conclude', 'consider', 'devise', 'invent', 'know', 'machinate', 'plan', 'ponder', 'realize', 'reason', 'reflect', 'suppose', 'understand'
- Initially, none of these meanings predominates

3. 'Suppose' meaning

- 'Machinate', 'plan':

(5) *imaginar* algunas cosas contra personas baxas (1350, Anónimo, *Traducción de la Historia de Jerusalem abreviada de Jacobo de Vitriaco*, CDH)

- 'Conclude', 'reason':

(6) si pensa sus ung petit et *ymagina* que il ne sejourneroit pas là longuement (1390, Jean Froissart, *Chroniques. Troisième livre*, Frantext)

3. 'Suppose' meaning

- Gradually, the 'suppose' meaning begins to stand out from the cognitive meanings without picture aspect
- From the 16th century onwards, the 'suppose' meaning is well established and conventionalized:
- The 'form a picture' meaning continues to be present
- Reduction to two main meanings:
 - 'Form a mental picture'
 - 'Suppose'

4. Syndetic sentence-adverbial construction

- Emergence of the syndetic sentence-adverbial construction (Schneider 2012)
- First sporadic signs already in the 14th and 15th centuries
- Particularly frequent during the 16th and 17th centuries
- Possible with all verb forms, but predominantly with the first person present indicative singular
- Initially with French *comme* and Spanish *como*
- Subsequently extended to other conjunctions (French *à ce que*, Spanish *según, a lo que, aquello que*)

4. Syndetic sentence-adverbial construction

- In the 16th century, French *imagine* is preceded only by the subject pronoun, in the 17th century, the reflexive pronoun is added:
 - (7) apres la mort du roy Menelaus qui fut naturelle (*comme ie ymagine*) deux des citoyens de Sparte ou Lacedemone [...] (1540, Jean Lemaire de Belges, *Les illustrations de Gaule, et singularitez de Troye*, Paris: Pierre Sergent, vol. 2, chap. 23)
 - (8) je le vis sousrire deux ou trois fois, jugeant, *comme je m'imagine*, l'impatience (1627, Honoré d'Urfé, *L'Astrée*, *Frantext*)

4. Syndetic sentence-adverbial construction

- Spanish *imagino*, in both centuries, occurs either with the subject pronoun or without any pronoun:
 - (9) si estos versos, *como yo imagino*, fueron tomados vno de acá y otra de acullá (1596, Alonso López Pinciano, *Philosofía antigua poética*, CDH)
 - (10) Si se afirma lo segundo, *como imagino*, implica que lo causen las materias motrices (1699, Alonso Lopez Cornejo, *Galeno ilustrado, Avicena explicado, y doctores sevillanos defendidos*, Sevilla: Juan de la Puerta, p. 8)

5. Deverbal discourse marker

- Emergence of the deverbal discourse marker (Schneider 2018, 2020b)
 - In Spanish, the first occurrences appear at the end of the 16th century.
 - With non-reflexive *imagino*:
- (11) con este enredo/gozar segura *imagino*/del amor de Bandalino./ (1594, Lope de Vega, *El maestro de danzar*, CDH)

5. Deverbal discourse marker

- In the 20th century, the Spanish deverbal discourse marker *me imagino* starts to appear:

(12) Ya es tarde. Vamos a recogernos, *me imagino*, todos nosotros. (1926, Ramiro de Maeztu, *Don Quijote, Don Juan y la Celestina. Ensayos en simpatía, CDH*)

5. Deverbal discourse marker

- In French, the first occurrences appear in the middle of the 17th century.
 - With reflexive *je m'imagine*:
- (13) Cela se faict, *je m'imagine*, si le mouvement que ces petits corps reçoivent rencontre dedans nous d'autres petits corps (French, 1655, Savinien Cyrano de Bergerac, *Les Etats et empires de la lune*, *Frantext*)

5. Deverbal discourse marker

- During the second half of the 18th century, the deverbal discourse marker *j'imagine* appears:

(14) la variété des objets et l'abondance des idées qui n'ont jamais, *j'imagine*, passé par aucune tête que la mienne.
(French, 1774, Denis Diderot, *Lettres à Sophie Volland*, *Frantext*)

5. Deverbal discourse marker

- Spanish:
 - End of 16th century: *imagino*
 - Beginning of 20th century: *me imagino*
 - Today: *me imagino*
- French:
 - 17th century: *je m' imagine*
 - Second half of 18th century: *j' imagine*
 - Today: *j' imagine*

6. Conclusion

- 1. Evolution of French *imaginer* and Spanish *imaginar*:

'Form a picture' meaning



Addition of 'suppose' meaning



Syndetic sentence-adverbial construction



Deverbal discourse marker

6. Conclusion

- 2. Emergence of deverbial discourse markers:

Cognitive metalinguistic meaning



Detachment



Deverbial discourse marker

6. Conclusion

- 3. Similarities and differences:
 - Parallel general semantic and pragmatic evolution
 - Difference regarding the deverbal discourse marker:
 - For centuries, presence of the reflexive pronoun in French, absence of the reflexive pronoun in Spanish
 - In the 20th century, this opposition was reversed

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